1: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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V. THE CHIEF MWAIPOPO

[facing p. 50]

1: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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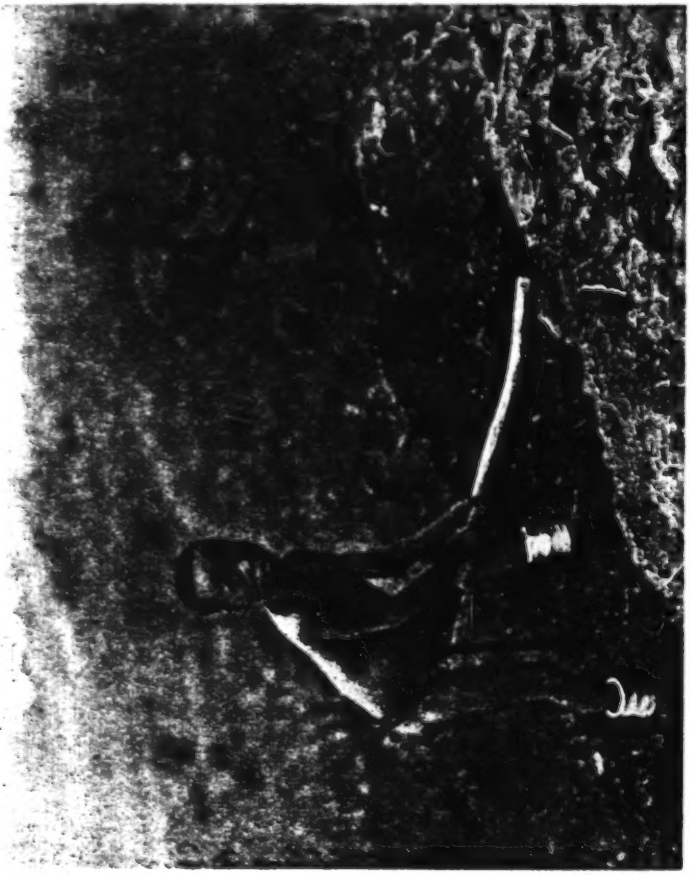

VII. A LITTLE GIRL PLANTING SWEET POTATOES IN HER MOTHER'S FIELD

[FACING P. 66]

1: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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VIII. MEN ON A PIG-HUNT

[facing p. 67]

1: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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IX. NDIMBOMI, A CHRISTIAN WOMAN, STOOPING TO GREET A MAN

[facing p. 70]

1: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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XII. 'THE DIGNITY OF THE HOMESTEAD'— NEW STYLE
Chief Porokoto's main house in Ilolo village

[facing p. 79]

1: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa



ments and fine clothes, or a splendid herd of cattle—all these are forms of *ukumoga*.

Traditionally Nyakyusa women wore only a bark-cloth belt tied around the waist and drawn between the legs to fall in streamers in front (cf. Plate XIII), and the pagan women cling to this dress, maintaining that it is only 'Swahili women with dirty diseases' who have to wear clothes to cover their sores, and if a pagan woman has a cloth she will probably wave it like a flag or hang it over one shoulder, when she dances. Except for the Christians, few Nyakyusa women regularly wear clothes. The Christians like a brightly coloured cloth tied under the armpits, and hanging to the knees (cf. Plate IX). Women make their own bark-cloths with great care, and decorate them with geometrical patterns in red and black, the red dye being imported from the Livingstone mountains; they mix this same dye with a fatty ointment made from the seeds of the *unsyunguti* tree, and rub it all over themselves. The most prized ornament (worn by both sexes) are body rings of coiled brass or copper wire (cf. Plate XIII). In the past men went naked except for these body rings[1] but, unlike the women, they have taken enthusiastically to clothes, and swagger around in brilliant loin-cloths or flowing white togas; or, if rather more sophisticated, in freshly pressed shorts and shirts, or lounge suits and topees.

The series of ceremonies at a girl's initiation and marriage, and at a funeral, are regular occasions for dancing, and the birth and death rates are so high that these occur very frequently within a chiefdom of 3,000 men. Once in a generation the eagerly anticipated 'coming out' ceremony offers an even greater opportunity for display. Skill in dancing is admired and the young people are encouraged to practise. A bride's mother does a great deal of the heavy work for her daughter, saying '*amoge tasi*', which means literally 'let her display herself first', and implies 'let her have a good time while she can'; and a father may use the same phrase of his son. Angombwike explained: 'The old men used to take great pride in their sons; often a man would say to his son: "Don't you hoe for me, I'll do the hoeing myself, you go and swagger about." Sometimes a man would sell a cow and buy a huge-bladed spear and give it to his son. Then, if he heard that his son

[1] cf. Elton, op. cit., p. 322; H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 18.

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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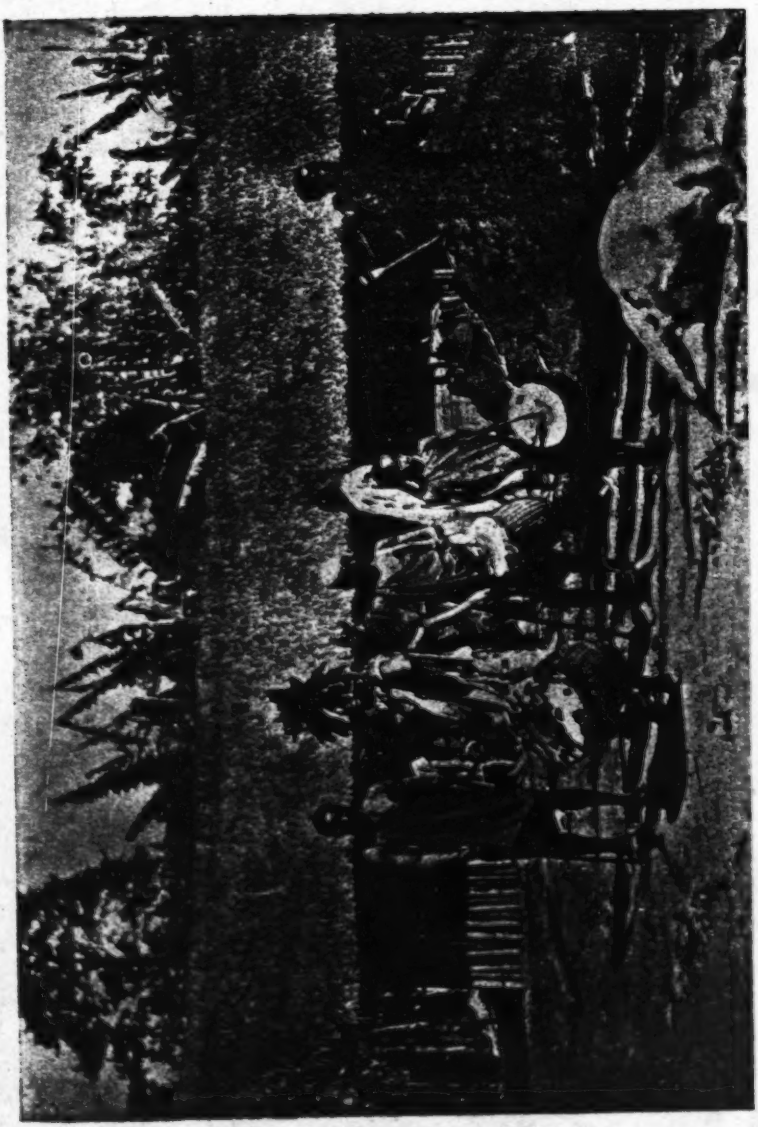

1. *Sacrifice and drums round the open grave*

[facing p. 20]

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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*2. Leaping on the newly filled grave*

[facing p. 21]

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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3. *The beer of the 'gasping cough.' Mwasalemba on the left*

[FACING p. 84]

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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8. *Preparing the meal for the participants to snatch at a twin ritual*

[facing p.165]

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa
Ndali



765 they seek two or three officiants, and they build a temporary hut behind the living huts where they strain three pots of beer, which they call 'the beer of the shades'. These officiants do not bathe their bodies because they say: 'Let us be with the shade when we make the beer (*tujege nagwe unsyuka bo tukubomba ubwalwa*).' The rest of the beer is strained in the house.

When they have brewed it they take one potful from the temporary hut and pour the contents on top of the grave; then they dig a hole on the grave and place in it a little pot of beer. What is left in these two pots they drink, together with the rest of the beer, and there is much drumming.

766 After a long time has passed, perhaps two years, if there has been sickness in the home, they think that the deceased is making them giddy, is causing them to be ill. So they dig up the corpse and take all the bones and finger and toe nails. If one is left the sickness is not cured. When Mulape, the grandchild of Mwakafunga, was ill they dug up the corpse and the illness ceased very quickly. They pile up the bones which have been dug up.

## III. MARRIAGE NEGOTIATIONS AND GIFTS

584 ANGOMBWIKE: One of our comrades in Kabembe heard that there was an unmarried girl at the Chief Mwasumbwe's, so one Monday he said to three of us: 'Don't go away, friends, we are going to woo the chief's daughter at Mwasumbwe's.' So we put on our best clothes, those we wear to church, and we went to the home of the father of the girl. He was the younger brother of the Chief Mwasumbwe by the same mother, and he told us: 'I am not the father (*ugwise*). She is my own child, but the father is the chief. Go to him' [i.e. authority over his daughter rested with his elder brother]. The girl had reached puberty. Someone else had married her, but her father had received only one cow, so the elder brother, the chief, was angry and took away the girl from her husband. My friend had never met her, never. He had just heard that there was an unmarried girl at that place, because the custom of making love to girls in the long grass is not a traditional one: a girl used to stay at her father's house. A young man went to the father before he spoke with the girl; he never spoke to her in secret. Then the father would send the girl to speak with the young man. She came and sat down and the young man looked at her closely and his friends who accompanied him helped him. Formerly a young man did not wear many clothes, he only wore one cloth in front, and a brass body-ring, so that his whole belly might be seen, and she might look closely. Also he sits high on a stool, while his fellows sit on the ground, that he may be seen by the girl.

[177 291] [516]

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

[Frontispiece]

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AN ITINERANT ENTERTAINER.

He is dressed in skin and feather head-dress, armlets, skin kilt, and body rings, the number of which latter indicates his social position. He carries, as professional properties, a spear, a skin pack, rattles, horns, bells, and a stringed musical instrument.

[FACING p. viii]

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17



342 561 boys, who have grown too big to occupy any longer the single-roomed hut in which their parents dwell. They are slender erections of reed and grass, and look as if a strong wind might carry them away; but the children live a happy, and not always innocent, life in these huts until they are able to build bigger ones for themselves.

• 291 Dress is more conspicuous by its absence than by its presence. During the day the women wear little but a long strip of bark cloth hanging down almost to the ground before and behind. The children usually have nothing at all, unless they have the good fortune to get a strip of cloth from a grandparent. They go about quite naked for the first few years of life, and a mission school usually reveals rows of children who consist of long legs and arms and smiling faces, wholly unconscious of need if they have a tiny rag strung in front, often not more than a few square inches in size. But the men who are earning money may be well dressed. The richer wear trousers and jacket, a shirt, a collar and tie, boots, if they are able to afford them, and a helmet. Their wives and children wear long robes of highly coloured cloths, and are no doubt observed with envy by their less fortunate sister-women, with little but a piece of bark-cloth to hide their nakedness. The average man, however, goes to church or market with a single garment, unsewn, flung over his shoulders, and covering, more or less completely, his whole body; but he goes to work in a scanty waist cloth, which leaves him uncovered below the knees and above the waist. Men

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17



Men
of social position are known by the number of *manyeta* 291
(body rings worn on the waist) which they wear: [301
one for a man or woman just "above the common"; 554]
six or seven for a man of high standing. A few women
have begun, to their own great discomfort, to wear
the immense coils of brass or iron on wrists or ankles
which are so popular among other tribes.

Clothes, says an acknowledged authority on the 291
subject, make the man. Not among the Konde. 643
Chungu is a great chief, but his greatness does not 554
depend on what he wears, although there are occa-
sions when he dresses more carefully than at other
times. This almost naked man is regarded with a
reverence greater than is granted to any but a very
few Europeans, and out of all recognition greater
than is felt for the native who swaggers about in
boots and helmet and white man's clothes. The
respect which is accorded to a European depends
to-day (though it did not in the past) upon his personal
character, his control of resources, the authority which
has been bestowed upon him by others. But Chungu,
with hundreds of other chiefs throughout Bantu
Africa, has a respect which is gained in a totally
different fashion. He is in close touch with unseen
powers. His prayers have a compelling power, his
benediction is priestly, his curse of fearful validity.
He is a channel through which may come weal or
woe upon the land; and hence his authority depends
in no degree upon such an accident as dress.

By almost all who know them the Konde are re- 461
garded as lazy. And to the bustling, and perhaps

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17



857 514 canoes of maize leaves are sent floating down stream, with shouting and racing competition between the owners.

857 Girls help their mothers, and at a very early age look after their younger brothers or sisters. It is a common sight to see a small girl staggering along under weight of a fat baby brother strapped to her back.

855 ●291 In the hotter regions boys go naked till ten or twelve, wearing nothing but a piece of string on the waist and a charm on neck or wrist. Girls begin to wear bark-cloth waistbands at five or six, adding more as circumstances permit. Their clothing is provided by the father; but boys, at whatever age they begin to wear any kind of garment, have to earn it for themselves, for it is not the business of their fathers to clothe them. They often, however, get a fowl or two, or even a goat or a sheep, from a grandparent, with the proceeds of which they buy a yard or two of cloth.

855 In the great majority of families there is a cruel difference in the treatment of boys and girls. The boys are uncared for, dirty, unoiled, not too well fed; while the girls are kept clean and oiled, well fed, and as far as possible clothed at an early age. The reason is not far to seek. Girls are a source of wealth, and a dirty, ill-cared-for girl will command few head of cattle when the time comes to think of her marriage. Boys, on the other hand, have value only as representatives of the family when the father has passed to the spirit world, and that value is not dependent on external circumstances. A change is being effected,

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

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A PUBLIC DANCE.

Usually dances take place at night, and many of them are morally evil, but daylight dancing is not uncommon, and is usually free from objectionable accompaniments. What is shown is a kind of solo dance, but commonly a circle is formed into which dancers advance, one or two at a time, to an accompaniment of drums, singing and hand clapping.

[facing p. 96]

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

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A BANANA-LEAF UMBRELLA.

In April there is an average rainfall of 36 inches. Children go to school, men and women go about their duties, protected—more or less—from the downpour, by a leaf taken from the nearest banana stem.

[facing p. 112]

3: Mackenzie M-5 · (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

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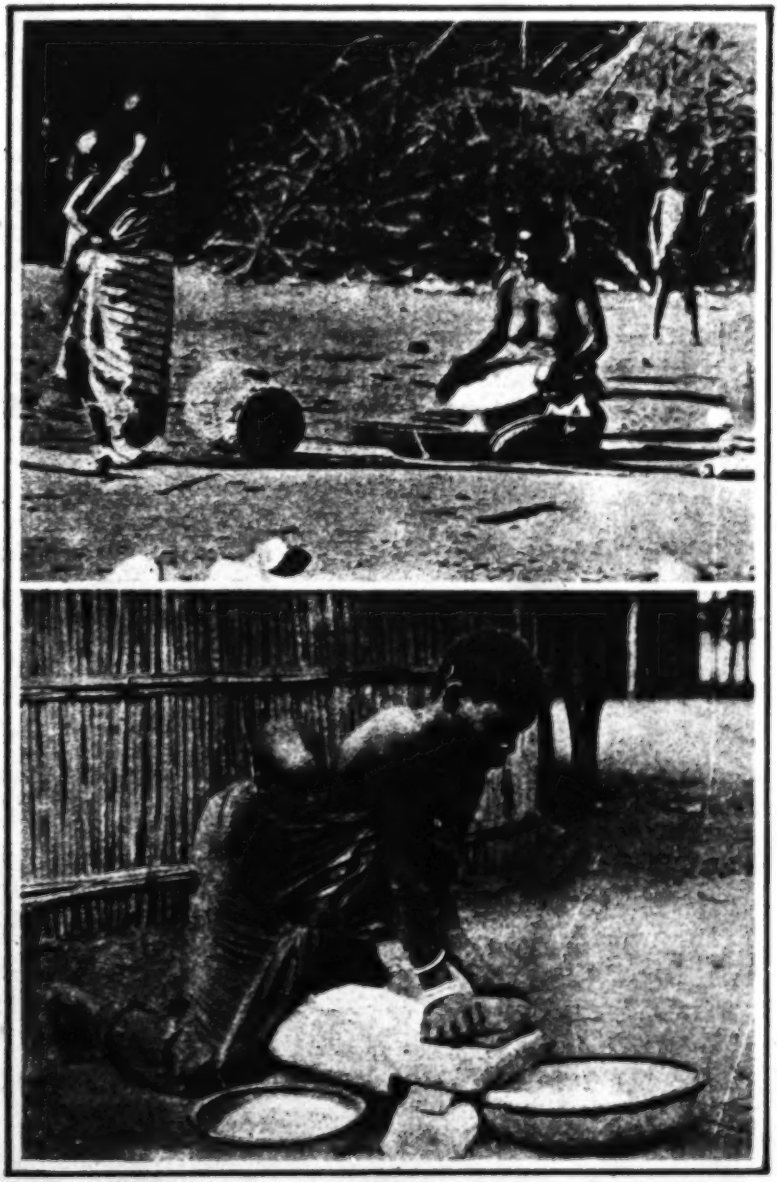

SIFTING.

A turning motion of the basket brings the chaff and dust to the top, and a skilful throw casts it out, leaving the flour, which is now ready for cooking.

GRINDING.

As evening approaches, the rasping sound of stone on stone with the grist between, may be heard all over the village, as the housewives begin to prepare the evening meal. The flour falls into the basket in front, and more grain is taken from the one at the side.

[facing p. 128]

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17



about these arts and crafts is their failure to develop at all. Hints and suggestions were there continually; yet nothing ever came of them. Iron was digged, smelted, and made into tools, yet no better tool for digging the ironstone itself was thought of than the hoe. Cloth was widely made on native looms before the advent of inferior trade goods, and needles, with eyes, for sewing mats; but the idea of sewn garments did not penetrate the native mind. Burned clay pipes were made to direct the wind from the skin bellows into the blacksmith's fire, but no one received from these pipes a hint of other possibilities. The idea of the wheel, with its boundless possibilities, did not suggest itself to the Konde mind, nor, so far as I know, to the Bantu mind anywhere, although hints of it were lying about, especially in the round tree trunks which were used as rollers when a canoe had to be dragged some distance from the forest to the water.

At every point the native mind seems to have been waiting for the stimulus which was to come with the white man, and which has led to an awakening, the full extent of which is not realized except by thoughtful persons. For already, after the comparatively brief tuitional period of fifty years, Central Africans are replacing Indians as Government clerks, as hospital assistants, as engineers on river steamers, as telegraphists; they do all kinds of printing and bookbinding, carpentry, and building; and they fill positions of trust which a generation ago no one thought they would ever be capable of filling. The Konde have not yet taken more than a small share in

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17



287 sometimes long coats. They look well for a few weeks and then take on a dirty depressing appearance, and it is safe to say that with the reduction in price of Home goods bark-cloth will go out of favour.

281 [854] Leather work has not developed to any great extent. Women use undressed skins for carrying babies; and men, in remote districts, use them as aprons. In Poloto skins are sewn together to form garments, and in the Kinga Mountains the skins worn by the women are pleasingly decorated with shells, while the leg skins are skilfully cut into strips and used as ties, by which to bind the skin on the back. They are seldom worn in front, and the Kinga women go in furs as to their backs, while a small bunch of grass alone clothes the front. Shields, wide and narrow; blacksmith's bellows of undressed goat skin; tobacco and snuff pouches, waist belts, caps, sandals; and long strips of hide for binding purposes, such as the haft of a spear, are all or nearly all the uses that are made of leather, if indeed the term leather should be used at all, as most of the articles named are made from unprepared skins.

301 [291] Beads are strung into pleasing patterns by using various colours, and are worn in strings or broad bands, on neck, forehead, arms, ankles, shoulders. Children often go clad only in a tiny apron of beadwork, and girls in the Kinga Mountains wear similar aprons until marriage.

532 One European house in my neighbourhood is decorated with a frieze of crude representations of men on foot or on horseback, motor-cars, cycles, birds,

6:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17



439 direct with the ivory traders or with the Kyúngu, for cloths or cattle or slaves. And groups of chiefdoms and fiefs co-operated in hoeing the *milasa*.

Nor did the ivory trade enter very deeply into the economic relations of [291] the local rulers with their subjects. The common people usually dressed in exiguous pieces of bark cloth or of a coarse cloth which they manufactured themselves from a kind of cotton; the scarce imported cloths, which came through Mbande, were normally used by chiefs and nobles only. They added to the prestige of the chiefs and nobles by linking them visibly with the opulence of Mbande, but did not much increase their own subjects' economic dependence on them. Though here again we must note the occasional exchanges of ivory and other wealth between [652] commoners and chiefs or nobles. The important economic links between local rulers and their subjects were determined, on the one hand, by the differential bride-price, by polygyny and by their power of requisitioning food, and, on the other hand, by their position as chief hosts to their people.

The ivory-trade, in fact, enabled Mbande to bind the local rulers to it in a kind of permanent hierarchical alliance, but neither the constitution of the local groups nor their autonomy in relation to one another was very much affected thereby.

## 5. *LEGAL ELEMENTS (MIDDLE PERIOD).*

000 We now come to a third element of the central power of Mbande, the traditional part which it played in the maintenance of law. We will take this topic in two parts: first, the ways in which Mbande maintained its own authority and that of its subordinates, and, second, the part played by Mbande and those lesser authorities in maintaining the common law of Ngonde.

### (a). *CONSTITUTIONAL LAW: TREASON ETC.*

667 Treason against the Kyungu was summarily punished with little or
567 no legal argument. The commonest form of treason seems to have been too near an approach to one of his wives. We remember that his wives were very closely guarded from all men, for their adultery might magically bring sickness on him, and if he fell ill then the whole land was magically endangered. One side of the hill Mbande is precipitous, and over this cliff (*Iponga*) all traitors were thrown, including such as had looked on his wives naked; while many members of the traitors' families were subsequently enslaved.

"If a man had looked on the wives of the Kyungu bathing, he himself would be killed by being thrown over the cliff and all his

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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THE KYUNGU, PETER

[opposite title page]

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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[415]

5*a*. PRIESTS OF LUBAGA (KINGA)

[534
778]

5*b*. KINGA PRIESTS WITH HORN AND DRUM

[Facing p. 39]

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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7. HEIR TO A CHIEFDOM
(*Mwaipyila in 1956*)

[Facing p. 55]

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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782
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8. COMMUNION WITH THE SHADES

[Facing p. 70]

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa



769 782 Mwalukuta, the hereditary priest of Mbyanga, had been pressing the chiefs to sacrifice for some time. He had sent messengers in March, April, May, and again in July, saying: 'At Mbyanga things have gone back, it is bad, see hunger kills!' At last, in August, Mwaihojo agreed to provide a cow if Mwaitende of the junior line finally refused. Mwalukuta, the priest of the grove, ex- [793] plained:

> We went to Mwaitende (121, identified with his grandfather 61) and asked him to sacrifice. He said: 'No, I am not coming; do the work there at Mbyanga yourselves.' We said: 'Why do you refuse to come, to return a cow? Our grandfathers gave you a cow, why don't you return it? They gave you cows on the understanding that you would bring them back, one by one, and kill them in the sacred grove here. Why do you refuse to return them?' It has always been the custom for the junior brothers to find cows for sacrifice. Their seniors give them wealth and appoint them priests to bring cattle to the sacred grove. [177] But in European times they refuse to come, each man kills at his own place. . . . I must go and tell Kasitile (86) and also Kifubuka, or rather his son—the father refuses to come he had a lawsuit with Kasitile. . . . Kifubuka used to kill the cow, then Kasitile said Makuli should kill the cow, but now Makuli has refused to come so I go to fetch Kifubuka [the younger]. Makuli was a chief who ate the meat. . . . Mwaitende (61) used to send the cow to him and Mwaluseke to bring to Mbyanga . . . as he now refuses to send the cow they say: 'What should we bring?' and have refused to come here.

[132] There had been another spell of cold weather and the temperature on the night of 8th August was down to 59° F., but fine weather was visibly approaching from the Lake. On the 9th the ritual was to have been held, but not everyone had been formally summoned and it was put off to the 10th.

[793] Only eight men came, Mwalukuta I, the priest of the grove, and his younger brother Mwalukuta II, two other priests (Nyama and Mwakasukula) and Mwakyonde (148), younger brother of Mwaihojo the chief who provided the cow, and three other young men of the chief's lineage. One of the young chiefs was ●[291] wearing a red cloth and was scolded by Mwakyonde for doing so: 'It's taboo in the sacred grove.' 'Why?' 'Because it's like a rainbow.'[1] And he took it off.

The mother of Nyama brought a bundle of saplings for building the hut for the shade, and Kisisile, the senior wife of Mwaihojo the

[1] The rainbow is a symbol of misfortune. cf. p. 60.

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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10*a*. KASITILE THE PRIEST

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10*b*. DIVINATION WITH PORRIDGE

[Facing p. 118]

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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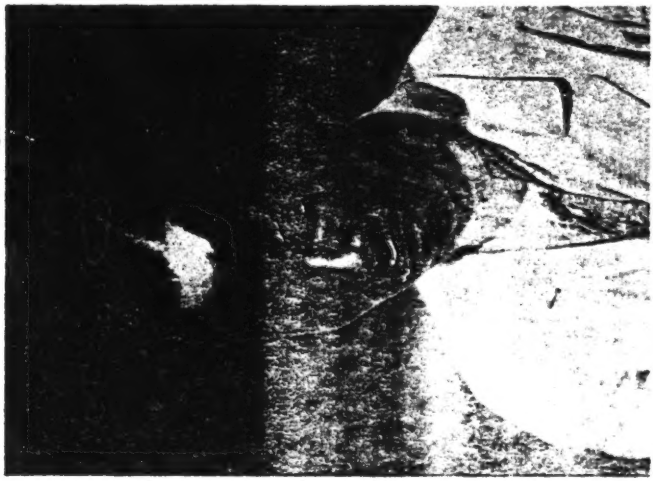
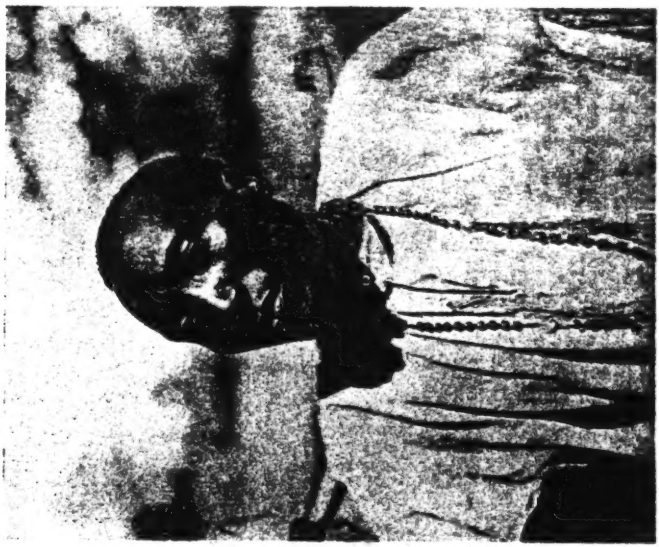


12b. NYASURU, LEADER OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CHURCH



12d. NGEMELA, FOUNDER OF A SEPARATIST CHURCH

[opp. p. 166]

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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13. MARIA, A CHRISTIAN ELDER

[opp. p. 167]

less uncultivated. These areas can easily be picked out today by the absence of village sites and banana groves. There was something of a rush to grab land in such areas and in the less densely populated parts of the chiefdoms. Today in my personal experience – for no general survey has been attempted – there remains little or no unused land within the paddy-growing region which can, by native techniques, be brought under the plough; and indeed men are attempting to grow paddy on unsuitably raised land where inundation is inadequate. Communal cattle pastures have shrunk as arable holdings extended until they remain only where cultivation is profitless.

The demand for land has far outrun the physical supply, and in 1955 it still seemed to be insatiable. The initial cycle was that a desire for more money to permit of a higher standard of living created a demand for more land on which to produce more cash crops; but the increased level of income then further stimulated money demands to raise standards higher again, thus bringing a renewed demand for land. The cycle has now been halted by the lack of further land to meet the people's needs, but the demand remains nevertheless and is indeed increased by rising costs of living.

This economic picture is, of course, oversimplified, but it may serve to illustrate the nature of forces at work in the situation. I would not wish to overemphasise the snowball effect, for the bulk of the population remains still largely content with only a little over earlier standards; but increasing numbers of men and their families are coming to seek something better. Bicycles have become something of a general necessity; a variety of good clothing and shoes is considered quite essential. Only a single decade before the Nyakyusa women still generally went about in the traditional nudity, whereas in 1955 they must have ranked among the very best-dressed African women in the Territory. European-type household goods, crockery and utensils are common. The demand for money, that is for a higher standard of living, has also been greatly stimulated by the experiences of the thousands of labour migrants returning from southern towns and mines, and by the cash and goods they bring back with them.[1]

It is not possible for me to attempt to suggest what a desirable acreage would be for a contemporary Nyakyusa, because money demands, crop yields and selling prices change and the desire for higher standards of living also alter as the potentialities of the new cash economy are increasingly understood. In 1954 the approximate average of Sh.200/- per paddy cultivator was earned from perhaps two or three acres of arable land, but an indeterminable amount of the crop was kept back for home food requirements. As will be shown later many men's paddy fields could have been little more than an acre, and many men, specifically young men, had no paddy land at all. Certainly there were few who held what they considered, at a reasonable estimate, to be sufficient land.

This universal cash crop agriculture and the continuing demand for higher standards of living, and therefore for higher money incomes, is the real cause of the new and rather sudden pressure of population on the land. Of course this economic process operates within a situation of relatively dense population and in a peasant community where land is almost the only form of capital and alternative enterprise is small. The gradual increase of population, although probably small, further aggravates the difficult situation.

### Arable Holdings

It was not possible to obtain adequate, satisfactory data to allow the calculation of local population densities, and the detailed results of the 1948

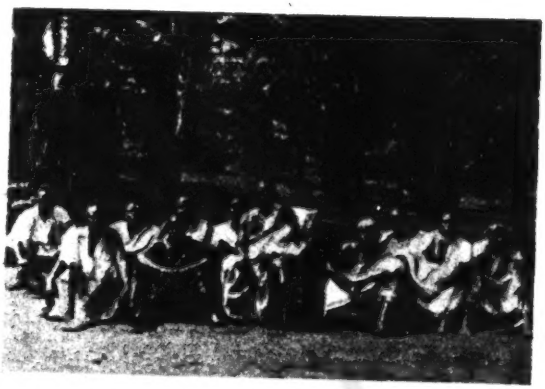
1. In Gulliver, P. H.: 1957, an estimate of the cash incomes of Nyakyusa in 1954 is given at pp. 51-2. Data on the cash brought back by returning labour migrants are given at p. 55.

13: Lehmann E-5 (1939)1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa



122 for research, I am very grateful for a grant from the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures[2] which enabled me to start my ethnographical field work among these people. I wish also to express my thanks to the Government of the Tanganyika Territory, the Provincial Commissioner of Mbeya, and the District Officer of Tukuyu for all the courtesy I received during my work.

114 123 1. My first step, after my arrival at Katumba near Masoko, was to pay a visit to Mwamasika, the chief *(omalafyale)*[3] of the village and



241 516 622 The chief Wwamasika with his councillors.

of those adjacent. On the open place near his hut he welcomed me in company with his *amafumu*[4], the influential men of his villages. My attendant, the interpreter and I were asked to sit on chairs, while the *amafumu* sat down on mats or on large banana leaves on the ground; but the chief remained standing. I explained the aim of my visit, and that I would be very glad of his support. The chief promised it, and he kept his promise excellently. On other occasions the chief also sat [431] on a chair. In the afternoon of the first day I sent to the chief some presents. The following he made a return in form of food. This exchange of gifts is named *ukubonola*, handing over the gift.

123 757 2. In a small village belonging to Mwamasika's chieftainship was the residence of a medicine man, to whom I paid a visit as soon as I could. When I met him he was being consulted by a sick male person who had a stomach complaint *(agaju)*. After some negotiations he allowed me

[2] Cf. Africa. Vol. XI, p. 497.
[3] Cf. Wilson, Introduction, p. 283; Land Rights, p. 44.
[4] Cf. Wilson, Land Rights, p. 13. W. translates *ulifumu (olifumu)* by „great commoner", Introduction, p. 276, 282.

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The chief Wwamasika and his family after he had received from me my old "Klepper-Mantle" as a gift.

to enter his hut, where the patient was sitting on the ground with his back to the wall. To heal his patient of the pains, the doctor made some small incisions in his skin near the stomach by means of a triangular-shaped knife, and then he rubbed in the incisions a thick black juice taken from the horn of an antelope (the horn was called *kapembe*, pl. *ulupembe*). The juice was prepared from different roots and herbs as a medicine against stomach pains. In the horn were certain divisions for other medicines, and in each of these divisions was stuck a small (black) stick for removing the specific medicine from it. After this treatment the patient declared that he felt severe pains in the region of his stomach. I asked the doctor for some of his medicines, but he was unwilling to give me anything. Then I promised to bring him next day some European medicines hoping to get in exchange some of his medicaments.

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The following morning I returned. On this occasion I did acquire some of his medicines in exchange for various European tablets, especially as he was most fascinated with the kaliumpermanganatum[1] of which I gave him a few crystals, explaining to him the use and the dose; when I dissolved some of the crystals before his eyes, it probably seemed to him to be a mystical process. Among the medicines I received then from him was a medicine for luck, called *kwarusako*. Some of the inhabitants of the village, who had meantime appeared, were very unwilling for him to give me this medicine, and maintained that I would take with me all the luck of the village.

[777]

On this second visit to the medicine-man, there was again a patient present, and I wanted to take a photograph of the scene because it was

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[1] [i.e., $KMnO_4$. – Analyst]

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123 755 in the open air and not within the hut as on the previous day. But the patient was unwilling to be photographed. He feared, he said, that by the photo I would take „his inner man together with the medicine just accepted" with me to Europe. I tried to calm him, showing him some pictures of my family, and I also let him look through the view-finder of my camera, so that at last he was satisfied. Then, after feeling more confident, he told me the cause of the pains which led him to come to the doctor. He thought he had been bewitched, as he had met a descendant of a man whom some long time ago had killed one of his own ancestors.

[142] [291] [516] 756

The Medicine Man and one of his patients. The medicines are spread out on the mat.

756 Then the medicine man also explained to me how he had come to the position of a doctor. He did not inherit his position from his father, but he was instructed in medical practices by another doctor. The circumstances which had led him to this position were the following.

[837] Before his initiation to the medical practice he had entered into forbidden relations with the wife of another man. To protect himself [789] from the magical revenge of the deceived husband and his kin he went to a medicine man to acquire antidotes against the expected bewitching. He had to pay two cows for this medicine, and as he had paid them, the medicine-man offered to initiate him into the secrets of the practice of a medicine-man. The character of the client, probably, had won his confidence, and indeed, the medicine-man whose guest I now was, made a profound impression on me.

754 He also described some forms of bewitching[5] for vengeance. For this purpose the avenger poisons a fowl in his own village uttering curses

[5] Cf. G. Wilson, Introduction, p. 277 (belief in witchcraft).

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765 48| head of the line. She was also the first who crawled between the legs of the others, facing the hut, and followed by the others. This ceremony has the same purpose as the preceding act.

[291]

Scene from the ubunyago-ceremony: The mourners returning from the grave to the house crawling through the legs of the others.

765 [302 515] Then the hair of the mourners was shaved (*ukumwa inwili*, to shave the hair, profane and ritual) and, I was told that a bath would be the last act ending mourning.

[291 516]

Scene from the ubunyago-ceremony: The shaving of the hair.

765 123 43| In the afternoon I sent the father of the dead child a cotton kerchief as a gift, and when I met him later on, he told me I had participated in the burial of his child by that gift, saying, "You have buried my child with me".

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787 [164 484] sister of the chief had also been brought back to the village of her brother. I was of the opinion that she was afflicted by a serious tropical ulcer on the ankle of the left foot. The healing of these ulcers commonly takes a very long time, and as this woman had already much suffered, and as the medicine-men consulted seemed to be unable to restore her, she was brought to her brother's village, but there also she had not yet recovered. The chief had, therefore, resolved to ask the diviner, whose name was Mwaigwisya, for the real cause of her sickness.

After he and his *amafumu* had taken their seats on mats, the chief explained to the diviner the reason of his visit. The diviner then grasped a curved piece of wood about 20 cms. in length with his right hand, after he had spat upon his hands. Then he moved the wood round his head, and finally placed it with one of its ends on the even, cleansed ground before his mat, and waited for the questions of the chief. The single questions, as for instance: "Is the sickness caused by Kyara?", or "Is the sickness caused by this or that person?", etc., were put to the diviner by Lamek Mwainyekule, the son of a chief of another chieftainship[16], now belonging to the *amafumu* of Mwamasika, as he now stayed in his village. Mwainyekule seemed to be not only

[291 516]

The Séance with the diviner.

[776] the most intimate adviser of Mwamasika, but alltogether the most clever man I met among this people. After each of the questions addressed to him the diviner murmured the names of the chief's

[16] A village of this name is to be found on Dr. *Kieperts* map (of 1895), southern to the Kieyo.

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I went to the place and got permission to enter the hut in which the first part of the ceremony took place. I found there the parents of the girl, the girl sitting enveloped in clothes in one corner of the hut, and some older females, one of whom was the acting *unnyago*. Some male guests were also present[20]. As the girl had had her first catamenia the present ceremony marked at the same time the end of her preparation for marriage.

The *unnyago* prepared a beverage of beer in which a light-brown medical powder *(imbondanya)* was put. First the girl had to drink from it, then the parents followed. This beverage was believed to strengthen *(ubusisya)* the consumers. Then a spear was handed to the girl by her father, and the girl handed it in turn to some relatives of the bridegroom waiting near the hut. These persons had to bring the spear to the girl's bridegroom as a sign that he could now marry the girl[21], but not before he had brought a bull to the girl's father. After this the girl, now sitting in the middle of the hut, was given small gifts from the participants in the ceremony.

Practical instruction of premature girls in house-hold matters.

Following this the whole body of the girl was anointed before the door of the hut. The *unnyago* began by anointing her legs; then the girl herself continued it. The ointment was prepared from castor oil and a powder of red wood *(Kipimba,* found commonly in the environment of Lake Rukwa). At this moment a male participant in the ceremony chanced to, come out of the hut, and suddenly a young woman

[20] Cf. *Wilson,* Introduction, p. 258; The Study of African Society, p. 11 (The Rhodes-Livingstone Paper No. 2, 1939).

[21] *ukwega:* to take (also as regards marrying); *ubwegio:* nuptials.

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and other duties applicable to a girl after marriage. The practical instruction takes place in or before a special hut in the village under the leadership of the *abanyago (avanyago)*. The girl is admonished by the *unnyago* to obey her parents without any delay, to perform the commands of her mother immediately, e. g. to clean the hut, and especially to show obedience when guests are present. Should the mother blame her daughter unjustly, she should not reply. (The girl had been blamed in the earlier discussion that she had not swept the hut when her mother required her to do it). Then her duties and conduct towards her future husband were inculcated. As a wife she must never accept anything from the hands of her husband without kneeling and stretching out both hands, and turning away her face with eyes cast down. Also as a wife she must not hold her head up

Some of the drummers.

when she is addressed by a man. As a wife she must be anxious to prepare her husband's meal always at the right time, that means, it has to be ready when her husband returns from the field. If she sees her husband coming from the field, then she has to go to meet him, and take his hatchet from him. Should her husband scold her, she is not to reply; but she may ask her neighbours for help. It is one of her duties to take care of the regular cleaning of the hut[33]. The ashes must always be removed by her from the fireplace. If there are only a few ashes on the fireplace she must remove them with her hands[34].

[33] The place near the house where the sweepings are thrown down is called *urutagililo*.

[34] Cf. *Mackenzie*, p. 51, who refers to such moral instructions connected with puberty customs, probably at Karonga; cf. *Fülleborn*, p. 359 (Nygonde plain).

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usa. It is true that one still meets blacksmiths on the outskirts of the villages or some distance away from them (as in the case of the Ndali tribe, western to the Nyakyusa area), but they no longer smelt the iron from ore mined by themselves as in former times. The smith of to-day remelt only scrap iron from disused motor-cars and other machines into tools, hatches, and spear-heads, unless, of course, the natives prefer to buy imported iron-ware. As with the Chaga, also the Nyakyusa smith can only be persuaded to submit to being photographed after long negotiation and a change into better clothes. The blacksmiths I met in the Bundali Mountains, however, made no objections whatever to being photographed at their work. Also women were allowed to attend. But one feature of the ancient Nyakyusa blacksmith's culture has been preserved till the present day: the lower part of the bellows through which the air blast is driven into the fire is still made of wood. This feature has been defined by H. Baumann as an element of the "ancient nigritic culture".

*12. Dress.* The cloths of the Nyakyusa have changed to a very considerable degree since the beginning of European influence. A comparison of the earliest pictures and descriptions of inhabitants at the northern end of Lake Nyasa with the dress of modern times brings out this point most forcibly. Originally the Nyakyusa went almost naked, adorned only with rings and belts, but nowadays all degrees of compromise with European fashions of dress are to be found, especially near the European settlements and Mission Stations. The most conservative element are, in this case, the women. It is still possible to-day to observe in each village the preparation of the long strips of bark *(elyabi*, pl. *amabi)* commonly worn by the women. The so-called *impandapanda* (Fotheringham: *mlambe)* tree furnishes the dress material. After the bark has been immersed in water, the bast is beaten with wooden instruments and then pulled off from the harder parts of the bark. These tools are like hammers; the flat end of such an implement is furrowed, sometimes with a disk made of horn, and as it produces patters on the bast it is called "*obosimbe*", that which produces patters. These long belts, almost reaching the ground, especially in front, are mostly ruby coloured, but the women sitting in front of their huts manufacture also other types with geometrical (triangular) patterns in yellow and brown forming only girdles *(umpango)*. In addition to this minimum requirement in the way of dress some women around the waist also wear copper belts *(manyeta)*, made of thin copper-wire, spiraly wound on a core of hairs from the tails of cows. These

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belts are also worn by men, nowadays below the other clothing. More and more pieces of cotton with imprinted patterns have come into vogue. They are worn around the lower part of the body or below the shoulders or fastened about one of them, and are bought from Indian shops. That this modern fashion, however, is something new in such places which are a little remoter from direct European influence was demonstrated to me when I came through a small village in the environment of Masoko. There by chance I met some young girls carrying a piece of cloth on the top of a long pole as if it were a banner. On enquiry I was told that this "banner" was nothing other than a piece of cloth newly bought by a woman of that village and that it was hoisted on a pole and carried in procession out of sheer joy that this woman had been able to buy it.

Menfolk throughout are fuller dressed, especially when they go dancing. The women, on the other hand, wear their ordinary dress also on such occasions. The dancing costume of the men — only the younger men participate in dancing — consists of a sort of tight-jacket or sweater and wide robes with coloured patterns. The hair is adorned with feathers. At work the men mostly wear only loin cloths or shorts. After work especially the older man wrap their bodies in blankets. It is very seldom nowadays to find even very old men still wearing the former national dress: a bundle of long grass in front and a smaller one behind tied to the waist by means of a string, as I found a man on a solitary spot near Rungwe Station. Little boys go altogether naked untill they are about three years of age. Little girls begin to wear a small *mabi* at an earlier age.

*13. Art.* One of the most interesting and striking features in the artistic endowment of the Nyakyusa are the decorations on the outer-walls of their huts. The latter are only painted, however, when the exterior of the framework of bamboo is mud covered, otherwise only the wooden doors (*ikifigo*, door) of the huts are painted. By no means every hut or house is painted, but only a limited number in each village, probably depending on the presence and industry of an artist as this art is as in other cases an individualistic one. One such artist was introduced to me in a village near Rutenganio. The ornaments consist in most cases of geometrical patterns in white and black, seldom in other colours, or they represent different sorts of animals, e. g. elephants, horses, cattle, snakes, etc. The richest designs I found in a long extended village on the right bank of the upper Kiwira. In an other case the names of the animals were written in Swahili below